2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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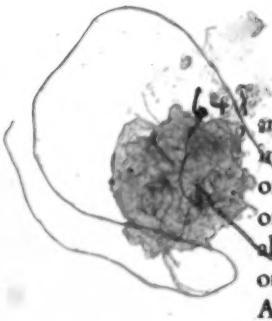
as superior to all people of colour and as equal in every way with ourselves and the Americans. The other European races fall, in their view, into a category somewhere between the Eastern and African races and the British, and it was therefore unthinkable that once the Aden Arabs had understood the implications of our policy in India that they would submit tamely to Indian domination. As Mackawwi said, they had been asleep for years, but now were beginning to stir and show signs of awakening.

In the spring of 1932, as Second Assistant Resident, I signed the Government Notice informing the public that Aden had been created a Chief Commissioner's Province under the direct control of the Government of India and was therefore no longer subordinate to the Government of Bombay. The issue of this very important Notice, which was in fact the first step on the road to internal self-government (though no-one recognised it as such at that time) caused little comment in Aden, except among the Parsees who viewed the transfer with disfavour. They had friends and relatives in Bombay and hoped that with the coming of Provincial autonomy to that Province they would have been able to play an even greater part in Aden affairs in the future than they had done in the past.

The practical effect of the change was that instead of the Bombay Government making kind noises when some proposal for the improvement of the lot of the people of Aden was submitted to them and passing it on to the Government of India, with the strongest recommendations and a clear indication that they could not make the necessary finance available, the Government of India just said "No" at once. The result was precisely the same although indeed speedier and had the advantage that no false hopes were encouraged in the inexperienced.

The continued lack of sympathy on the part of the Government of India during the years following the transfer from Bombay could have but one result and that was to make the Arabs resent more and more the link between Aden and India. It had become a fetter to be shaken off as soon as possible. Mackawwi, and those who thought as he did, began to take



more interest in political matters and their numbers began to increase rapidly. The advent of Provincial autonomy in India only added fuel to the fire of discontent and the thought that one day the Central Government in Delhi might follow, almost certainly would follow, the example of the Bombay and other Provincial Governments and that British officials in Aden might be replaced by Indians was intolerable. The Arabs became seriously alarmed and even the Hadhrami merchants paused in the counting of their profits to survey the scene. They did not like what they saw and they joined forces with Mackawwi and his friends who led a deputation to the Resident. The deputation asked that the Settlement of Aden should be treated in the same way as the Protectorate, which had been transferred to the control of the Colonial Office in London in 1928, and that in future they should come under the direct authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. They did not wait upon the Resident in any servile spirit, they came as the leaders of the people, and they came armed with their conditions. Aden was to remain a free port, no new taxation was to be imposed unless local circumstances made it essential and the judicial appeals were to continue to the High Court of Bombay.

The views of the Arabs were transmitted to London and New Delhi. Meanwhile the Arabs held meetings and the Parsees led the opposition and in turn held meetings. The meetings organised by the Parsees were well attended by the Arabs attracted, so uncharitable people said, by the refreshment that was provided by these well-to-do gentlemen.

As is customary when something is referred to London, nothing very much happened for some time, and the Arabs made the next move which took the form of a written memorandum embodying their views and their requests and the guarantees for which they had asked. This in turn was sent to London and New Delhi, and in consequence further negotiations followed which, from the Arab point of view, were successful. Their request was granted and their conditions were accepted and, in 1937, on April 1st, the Settlement of Aden became a Crown Colony under the direct control of the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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Colonial Office in London. Another fetter had been thrown aside.

I must say a word here about that part of the guarantee which ensured that Aden should remain a free port, for it is of the greatest importance. Aden was at that time, and I am glad to say still is, the great distributing centre for imports from the West and the East round the shores of Arabia and down the African coast. Cigarettes, piece-goods, provisions, machinery, sugar and grain all come to Aden in ocean-going vessels from all over the world and find their way by coastal steamers and country craft up and down the Red Sea and round the neighbouring coast. These steam coasters and country craft on their return voyages bring gums, hides and skins and coffee to Aden to be cleaned, sorted and graded, bagged or baled and exported to Europe and the United States of America. Aden has maintained her position as a great *entrepôt* by virtue of four factors and they are, her geographical position, her natural harbour, her security and her freedom from import and export duties. Only an act of God could alter the configuration of Arabia or fill the harbour by some tempestuous upheaval beyond the control of man, and security will remain and be maintained as long as Great Britain remains great. The only doubtful factor at any time was freedom from customs duty, and the Arab leaders and their advisers in 1937 knew how essential it was to secure, in so far as they possibly could, this freedom as a preliminary to the transfer. None of us in Aden knew what the precise income of the new Colony would be and none of us knew what it was going to cost to run a Colony efficiently, especially a Colony which had been neglected for so long. What we did know was that the imposition of import or export duties, which might seem to be an obvious source of revenue, would in fact have a disastrous effect on the trade of the Colony. At the same time we were well aware that even British Government Departments have been known to be very short-sighted when pressed by the Treasury to find money to meet a deficit. Everyone expected that there would be a deficit if Aden was to have even half what she needed so badly—hence the insistence of the Arabs led by Mackawwi on this guarantee.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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maximum height of 8,000 ft., and the plains range in height from that of Dhala in the west, which is 4,500 ft., to that of the Audhali plateau in the centre, which is 6,750 ft. Thereafter the mountains and plains decrease in height the farther north they go until nothing remains but the great central Arabian desert, the Ruba-al-Khali with an average height of 2,500 ft.

Over in the east the coastal plain rapidly gives way to the great Plateau of the Jöl, a tableland deeply cut by rifts and valleys, the greatest of which is the famous Wadi Hadhramaut in the north. Thereafter the tableland ends abruptly and then begins the northern plain which runs up to the southern limits of the great sand dunes of the central desert.

The full history of South-west Arabia, that is, of the Aden Protectorate and the Kingdom of the Yemen, has never been written and the travellers' tales of the Aden Protectorate and the historical records that do exist of the early history of the Yemen give no more than a glimpse of a period of history or of the authors' immediate surroundings. I do not propose to attempt to remedy this deficiency, but I must, for the proper understanding of my subject, give a brief historical outline of the events which led to the coming into existence of the Aden Protectorate in the form in which it was in 1931 when I first came to have personal acquaintance with that fascinating country. There has been no fundamental change in the form of the Protectorate since then, although as we shall see later, there has, of recent years, been considerable political and economic development.

At about the time that these islands of ours were being conquered for the last time in their history by William the Norman, the Imam of the Yemen had overrun much of what is now the Western Aden Protectorate and was in effective control of the tribes between Lahej, Aden's near neighbour, and Loder the capital of the Audhali Sultanate. The Imam was not left in possession for very long, and the records show that in the latter half of the eleventh century the Abdalis of Lahej and the other tribes more remote from the Yemen border broke away from the Imamic control and once again became

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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their territory to any foreign power without the previous permission of the Government of India. In return we undertook to protect them from external aggression. Those were the main clauses, but there were, of course, subsidiary clauses which differed from Treaty to Treaty and which related to freedom of access to each other's territory, the protection of trade routes and similar matters. The main object of the Treaties was protection, protection from the Yemen as far as the tribes were concerned, and protection from the Yemen and the tribes themselves as far as we were concerned.

As the years went by and the buffer grew in size as more and more States came into alliance, so did our responsibilities to the people of the area grow, although it took us nearly a hundred years to realise our obligations, which we have not yet adequately discharged.

The States are twenty-five in number, of which the Sultanate of Lahej is the senior, not only by virtue of its importance, but also because it was the first to enter into treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. They vary greatly in size from the 40,000 square miles of the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla, to the few unproductive acres of the Sultan of Bir Ali, an insignificant little sea port. The Rulers, who are either Sultans or Sheikhs or Amirs, or even Naqibs—it makes no difference to the importance of the State what title is held by the Ruler—are all independent in so far as their internal authority is concerned, and the only curbs on their power are tradition and the degree of independence of the people themselves. This latter varies with the geographical position and the nature of the terrain of the State. In the Yafa Highlands, which are almost inaccessible, every tribesman is a law unto himself and pays little heed to the titular leader, the Upper Yafa Sultan, unless the land is in grave danger when they rally to him until the danger is passed. In the Lowlands and in the Southern plain where the States are more vulnerable, there is a greater degree of obedience by the tribesmen to the authority of their Ruler, and such is the case where tribal territory abuts on to the Yemen in open country; country where the fear of Zeidi raids is greatest.

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lines of a military school where the discipline is strict and the [292] boys are taught to be self-reliant. Dressed in their school uniform of blue smock, gathered at the waist with a red sash [541] and a white cotton head cloth held in place by a black cord, these boys put on a physical training display on gala occasions which would not disgrace the Royal Tournament at Earl's Court.

643 The old Sultan, His Highness Sir Saleh bin Ghalib, K.C.M.G., was a well-read and wise old gentleman whose death in 1956 was a sad blow to his people and to his State. [533] I have enjoyed his hospitality on more than one occasion and listened with pleasure to his band which, under an Indian Bandmaster, played Eastern and Western tunes with equal facility. It was this band that played at Government House in Aden when Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip, honoured me with their presence at lunch in 1954. His Highness was himself present on that occasion, together with other representatives of the Protectorate and the [523] Colony. In his own house after dinner it was the Sultan's custom to entertain his guests with a cinema show which, whether composed of commercial productions or of films he had himself produced and photographed, was always entertaining, even though the sound was rather overpowering: I could never understand, since he was certainly not deaf, why he always had the sound turned up to such a degree that one was almost deafened. The Sultan loved anything to do with films and knew more than most amateurs about the mechanism of his cameras, projectors and tape recorders. It was in Mukalla that I saw and heard Charlie Chaplin speaking Arabic; an Arabic sound track having been added by the Sultan himself to one of the old silent Chaplin films.

636 Politically the State was more advanced than most of the 643 Protectorate States and His Highness ruled with the aid of a 645 State Council, on which were not only the able Sudanese Chief Minister and the astute Pakistani Finance Minister, but unofficial Arab members representing trading and other interests 642 in the State. Throughout the State, control and government 636 have been decentralised down from the Central Government

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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in the capital through the Provincial Administrations to the Districts into which the provinces are divided. The Resident Adviser and his staff worked in the closest co-operation and accord with the Sultan and his officials with the emphasis very much on advice. The Resident Adviser believed passionately in letting people learn by actually doing the job and he discouraged his subordinates from doing too much themselves. Hugh Boustead's policy under his inspired guidance has had most gratifying results and a sound administrative structure has been built up from local material. He himself is the most energetic and inspiring person with whom I have ever served but, I confess, I did on occasion find him exhausting; always on the move and perpetually blowing a referee's whistle for some underling or other. All the servants had been allotted a definite number of blasts on the infernal instrument and came running when their number sounded. I found it most trying —it made me jump—and when I was staying with him he kindly put it away and was at a loss what to do when he wanted an orderly to take a message, or a servant to bring a glass of water. He drank pints and pints of water and worried perpetually about taking a chill, being followed wherever he went by an orderly with a selection of pullovers of varying hue, thickness and age. The slightest change in temperature resulted in one coming off or one going on, and sometimes he seemed to be forever dressing or undressing. All great people have some idiosyncrasy; it distresses me sometimes that I have never been able to detect one in myself.

This fad of Hugh's was extraordinary when you realise that he had taken part in an Everest expedition, had represented his country in the Olympic Games, had served in the Navy and in the Army, and was at one time a boxer of note and had endured incredible hardship in the Sudan and elsewhere during his very outstanding career. He had very firm ideas, and he was independent by nature—but who would not be with his background and experience—and I knew full well that I need not worry about the Eastern Protectorate while he was in command. The only time when we did not always hold identical views was towards the end of a tour with him, when his

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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up at Saiyun by the Quaiti and Kathiri States, was provided and was controlled by one of Hugh Boustead's young men. Diesel oil was essential for the pumps and it had to be brought from the coast at Mukalla by lorry, and so it was that the camel men, however disgruntled they might be, must not be allowed to damage the roads or impede the oil lorries.

The pump scheme was supplemented by grain stores set up in the main towns and larger villages and regularly inspected to ensure that the grain had been properly rotated. At each harvest new grain was bought and the old grain sold, thus keeping the stocks fresh. Mercifully all went well with the rainfall during my tour of duty and we did not have to put our anti-famine measures to the test.

I cannot leave the subject of development without making a brief reference to the political side. In most States in the Western area of the Protectorate the old form of complete autocratic government has given place to government by the Ruler with the advice of a Council, and in some States the next stage of development of Councils with executive powers has been reached, while in Lahej there is the further refinement of a Legislative Council. Generally speaking these Western innovations where they exist are only in the kindergarten stage and the Ruler is still the central figure upon whose personality the Government of the State really depends. For instance, there is one important State which has no Council at all, but a very able Ruler who governs justly and firmly and whose finances are in a sound condition; while another and larger State has the whole façade of modern governmental institutions but a Ruler whose real interests are elsewhere and his people do not fare so well and the State's finances would mystify the most astute of accountants. The personality of the Ruler is still of paramount importance, but change is coming swiftly.

In the Eastern area the main progress has been made in the centre, where in the Quaiti and Kathiri States administrations have been firmly established and even Town Councils are functioning with reasonable efficiency. These States have been lucky in having Rulers who had the good sense to pay heed to their able advisers. In the two outlying States, the Wahidi

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643 178 on the western side and the Sultanate of Qishen and Socotra on the eastern side, there is rather a different story to tell. The young Wahidi Sultan inherited a country riven by feuds and only recently has any real degree of security prevailed; but he is working on the right lines and has made creditable progress. In Qishen the wild tribesmen wander over their barren desert ranges and sand dunes with their camels and their goats following the all too scarce rain. Oil-survey parties have come to their country and they eye them uneasily, not knowing quite what to make of tractors and caravans, but willing enough to earn money when the opportunity offers and the work is not too strenuous. Down on the coast the Sultan's relatives in the seaboard villages play a Capulet and Montague game in their own Mahra dialect, which they alone can understand, while the Sultan himself, who is inclined to be a recluse, sits in the mountains of his island of Socotra 300 miles away across the sea off the Horn of Africa.

648 While these internal changes have been taking place there has been a change or development in the treaty relations of the major States with Her Majesty's Government. The fundamental agreements, the original protection treaties, have remained unchanged, but these States have entered into an additional treaty of an advisory nature. The Rulers have agreed to accept the Advice of Her Majesty's Government conveyed through the Governor in regard to matters to the benefit of their people and States, and we have undertaken to aid them, in particular, in the economic field, to the best of our ability. These "advisory" treaties are of recent origin and must not be confused, as they often are, with the basic protection treaties, all of which, with one very minor exception, were entered into between 1839 and 1914.

I have seen it suggested that some Rulers were coerced into agreeing to conclude "Advisory" agreements. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were entered into willingly and with full understanding of the obligations on both sides. I can make this statement from my personal knowledge. Far from pressure being used the reverse was the case. In one particular instance I refused to discuss the matter at all with the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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CHAPTER NINE

Federation and the Future

FEDERATION

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ALTHOUGH the Protectorate Rulers are no longer the despots that they were, they are all, with two exceptions, fundamentally autocratic in their outlook. It is true that in many of the States the powers of the Rulers have been limited to some extent by the voluntary action of the Rulers themselves in establishing Councils, advisory or executive, but it is equally true that the Councils where they exist do so at the will of the Ruler and not at the will of the people. I admit that the autocratic form of government where the autocrat has been of a benevolent disposition, has been, so far, the most successful in the East, and I have much sympathy for those people who deplore the forcing of Western patterns of government on the unwilling Asiatic or African, but so far as Aden is concerned there never has been any question of forcing anything on anyone. I suggest that the reason why autocratic government has been successful in the East is fundamentally because it was the only form of government that could succeed in the insecure conditions which prevailed. It was also the form that the people appreciated, were accustomed to and wanted. They never had any long experience of any other form of governmen... I am sure that in the very different conditions which now prevail the majority of them do not appreciate a dictator, except as a purely temporary measure. They are growing unaccustomed to autocratic rule and want a form of government approximating to the Western model. What the people want they will have eventually. It is not a question of forcing Western ideas on unwilling people, but rather of guid-

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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ing eager purchasers to make a satisfactory choice of a political garment and altering the model to suit their particular figure. It was just with this purpose in view that the Federation plan was conceived.

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In all the Western and Middle Eastern countries outside the Iron Curtain, with the exception of the temporary experiment in Egypt and the last remnant of the patriarchal conception in Saudi Arabia, governments are fundamentally democratic whether the head of State be designated Queen, King, or President, and Aden looks Westwards for guidance and inspiration.

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The contacts between the nineteenth-century Aden Protectorate and the West are daily becoming closer. Incessant broadcasts from London, Cairo and Aden itself, very different though they may be in their political approach, bring the modern West and modern Middle East into the remotest villages of the Protectorate. At the same time roads and landing grounds—of the latter there are at least eight with regular Civil Airline services, made possible by better security—have changed the mode of travel from the camel and the donkey to the lorry and the aeroplane and thereby greatly accelerated and increased personal contact with the outside world, and thus with people with Western ideas.

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In Aden Colony there are 38,000 Arabs from the Protectorate in close contact with a democratic form of government, many of whom exercise their voting right when elections to the Legislative and Municipal Councils take place. These people have become accustomed to a democratic system of government, not only in Aden, but also in countries in the West to which many of them travel. When they return to their Protectorate homes, which many of them do at frequent intervals, they find the old-fashioned autocratic rule of their Sheikh or Sultan irksome. They would like at home what they have become used to abroad, an ever-increasing say in the government of the country. At present these people are in the minority, but it will not be long before the wish of the few becomes the demand of the majority, and the wisest of the Protectorate Rulers are ready and willing to accept change and bow before the inevitable.

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871 178 Another most important factor is education, that menace in the East to tradition, which continues to expand in the Protectorate with ever-increasing speed and threatens to destroy completely the old system before something better ••• can be introduced, and all the while the oil survey parties move to and fro. If oil is found there can be but one result. The economic brake on political development will be released and the pressure for change will increase until a really dangerous situation has arisen unless the future has been carefully planned. It is obvious, therefore, and has been for some time, that the present political structure is rapidly becoming out-of-date and cannot continue in this rapidly changing world without danger to the peace and security of the whole area. The problem was, and still is, how best to guide political development into more liberal channels and, if possible, at the same time to improve the economy of the area: the question is how to weld the States together in a powerful, essentially democratic, political and economic entity without disturbing more than necessary the traditional ties between the people and their Rulers and ourselves and both. To put it another way would be to say how to achieve in a few short years what we in this country have taken several hundred years to accomplish. In my view the only answer to this difficult problem was, and is, federation or the gradual joining together of the States into a compact whole, due consideration being given to unequal development in individual States.

• 642 648 178 I had thought about Federation long before there seemed any possibility that one day I would become Governor, but I was not the first person to put the idea down on paper. The credit for this belongs to Mr. G. K. N. Trevaskis, O.B.E., the Adviser for the Western Protectorate who drafted a scheme for Federation while I was still full of ideas and nothing very concrete. This scheme was discussed by me with my advisers at length, and after alteration and amendment it went to London as a definite proposal. It was approved by the Secretary of State and I was authorised to explain my views to the Rulers and obtain their reactions. Let me state here and now that I am proud of my share in the Federation proposal, in

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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spite of the very free and adverse criticism by people far removed from the scene of action and out of touch with recent events in the Protectorate who do not think that it is appropriate or workable. One critic, however, was a notable exception to the general rule and he was in the closest touch; I refer to the Imam of the Yemen, who objected strongly to the scheme for a very different reason. He was afraid that it would work.

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The plan for Federation was simple and to start with envisaged two separate federal structures, one in the West and the other in the East. There were two reasons for this decision; they were—firstly, that generally speaking the standard of administration in the East was very much more advanced than in the West, and secondly, that the Eastern States had always tended to keep to themselves and not to have very much to do with the Western States.

It was proposed that the head of both the federal structures would be the High Commissioner for the Protectorate who would also be the Governor of the Colony. There would be a Council of Rulers in each of the federal areas whose meetings, as a full Council, owing to distance and the preoccupation of members with the affairs of their own States, would probably be few and far between, but each of whom would depute three of their number to represent the full Council as a Working Committee. These Working Committees would be empowered to make decisions on behalf of their Councils and would meet at frequent intervals. It was probable that in the Eastern Federation the Working Committee of the Council of Rulers would, in fact, be the full Council, because it was considered that the Sultanate of Qishen and Socotra had not reached a degree of administrative development which would justify its immediate inclusion in the Federation. It was also proposed to leave out the small village State of Bir Ali because it was really too insignificant to be worthy of serious consideration.

After this novel feature of a Council of Rulers for each area, the pattern became more normal with Executive and Legislative Councils in each federal area whose members would

642 178 be nominated in the first instance. It was realised that eventually the members of the Legislative Councils would be elected, but *when precisely that major step forward would* be justified would depend on a number of things, not the least of which would be the degree of responsibility shown by the members themselves.

In the beginning it was the intention to make the Federal Authorities responsible only for customs, communications, education and public health; services which lent themselves to central control and which were, with the exception of customs, already subject to a certain degree of direction by advice. It was not intended at this juncture that the Federal Authorities would interfere in any other way with the independent internal authority of the States. When the Federations became firmly established and the advantages of federal control more generally understood, more and more subjects would be transferred to federal control. It was to be a gradual process.

652 648 The Protectorate is a deficit area and, excluding the cost of defence services, costs the British taxpayer about £800,000 a year. This sum includes, among other things, the cost of the Government Guards and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion and subventions to States to help them maintain their own internal security forces and in certain cases to aid them with the development of State Administrations. It is not really a very large sum being probably less than one pound her head of population a year, but it was clearly undesirable to increase the British taxpayer's burden unnecessarily. Therefore, the financing of the federal scheme was of primary importance. The centralisation of the customs service was an economic measure which would result not only in a saving in administrative and collection costs, but would make practicable the levy of import and export dues on goods entering and leaving the Protectorate. The saving in administrative cost is obvious when it is realised that one reasonably efficient centrally controlled organisation would replace twenty-five separate organisations, only three or four of which could be described as reasonably efficient. The object of the exercise was not to deprive individual States of their principal source of income and bring them even closer

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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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to bankruptcy than they were already, but to provide, by saving on administration costs and by levying a realistic export duty on cotton lint, an income sufficient to pay for the Federal Authorities and for subventions to the States to compensate them for their loss of customs revenue. Careful examination of the details of the scheme proved conclusively that it was a practical proposition. At the present time all tobacco, cigarettes and petroleum products imported into the Colony and subsequently exported by land to the Protectorate pay full Colony duty or excise and no drawback is granted. Once the Federal Authorities had been established there was no practical reason why the Colony should not be asked to grant a customs drawback on goods subject to Colony taxation re-exported by land to the Protectorate. This would enable the Federal Authorities to impose their own import duty and increase their revenue without the consumers being adversely affected.

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One further question which required consideration was where the Councils should meet. At least one previous attempt to bring the Western Protectorate States into closer relationship had failed because the meetings between the Rulers had been held in the State of the then most important and advanced Ruler. Prestige and jealousy reared their ugly heads in no time. I did not intend that that mistake should again be made. The obvious place for the Western Federation was the Colony, at any rate, in the beginning until something in the nature of a Canberra could be agreed upon, or brought into being, where accommodation for meetings and for the delegates was available and where inter-State jealousy would be avoided. In the Eastern Protectorate the meetings would have to take place in Mukalla in spite of the very real drawback occasioned by the smaller States' fear of Quaiti domination. There was no alternative; the Colony was too far away even with the improved communications.

This then was, in brief outline, the Federation scheme which was laid before the Rulers at Government House in January 1954. The meeting was well attended by the Western Protectorate Rulers whose only absentees of note were the Haushabi Sultan, always a trifle weird, who was having a dispute with

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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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642 his neighbour Lahej, and the eccentric Awd bin Saleh, the Upper Aulaki Sultan who could not, at that time, be induced to leave his house in Nisab. Of the Eastern Rulers the Quaiti Sultan was too infirm to attend and the Sultan of Qishen and Socotra was miles away in Socotra. The Resident Adviser in Mukalla had already discussed the scheme in principle with the Quaiti Sultan and found that he was favourably inclined to the proposal.

All the Rulers present at the meeting accepted the scheme in principle, that is the principle of Federation, but very sensibly and rightly they decided that they could not make any pronouncement on the details of the plan until they had had time to study it and if necessary discuss it with their advisers. I was at pains to make it quite clear to them that the present plan was really nothing more than a blueprint. They were the people who were prepared to build the house and I and my officers were the architects and it was our business to meet their wishes in regard to design in so far as it was possible to do so without jeopardising the stability of the whole structure. Negotiations with individual Rulers were started shortly afterwards and initially good progress was made. Some of the States were prepared to accept the plan without alteration, while others asked for only minor and reasonable amendments. At first the prospects were bright for early general agreement, but as the year 1954 advanced so did my hopes recede.

642 As was anticipated the Yemen reaction was very unfavour-
648 able, but I confess I had not expected the Egyptian reaction to be as violent as it was, although the Suez Canal controversy was at its height. They condemned the scheme because it was British and for no other reason, and their radio broadcasts talked of the enslavement of the people and their Rulers and branded the Rulers, who were known to be favourably disposed, as traitors to their country and religion and the friends of infidels. Individual Rulers were mentioned by name and the faint-hearted began to hedge and counsel a postponement until the atmosphere was more conducive to calm consideration.

The Arab League produced a mission which, led by the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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Secretary-General, hurried to the Yemen to consult the Imam. The Yemen was a member of the League so, although the members of the mission, who were intelligent men, were by no means favourably impressed by the Imam's arguments, they felt that they must give him their support. The mission came to see me in Aden and I said I could not understand how they could favour general Federation of the Arab countries, which was then their declared policy, and at the same time condemn the application of the same principles to the Arab States of the Aden Protectorate. We had an amusing talk but did not achieve anything worth while.

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A further set-back came when suggestions were made outside Aden that the States were being forced into the Federation. These suggestions were not taken lightly by any means, although they were quite without foundation in fact. No force was used and no attempt was made to coerce the Rulers who were free to put forward their amendments to the plan, or even to remain outside the Federation altogether if they believed it was to the advantage of their States to do so. In retrospect I think it would have been wiser and to the advantage of the Protectorate as a whole, if the weaklings had been coerced and the Federation become an accomplished fact in 1954. As it was there was a change of policy on our part and the negotiations with the States were discontinued and in order that there could be no possible foundation for any suggestion of force, the proposal was left in abeyance pending a move by the Rulers themselves. So much for the Western States where matters were to rest at this stage for nearly eighteen months.

Meanwhile in the Eastern area, the plan was badly damaged in launching and had to be rebuilt almost from the keel upwards. The Wahidi Sultan, who had declared in favour of federation with the Quaiti and the Kathiri States, wavered and had second thoughts and preferred to federate with the Western States, being somewhat apprehensive of his Quaiti neighbour. Then he had another change of heart or of mind and decided that he would not federate with anyone for the time being. The Wahidi's withdrawal upset the balance in the East, and the Kathiri Sultan whose State is surrounded by Quaiti

territory, also had second thoughts and afraid of being overwhelmed by the Quaiti was not prepared alone to join the Federation with his more powerful neighbour.

Then in 1955 some of the Western Protectorate Rulers who favoured Federation began to lose patience and ask why nothing was being done and why the plan seemed to have been shelved. One in particular was very outspoken and said that he was not afraid of the Yemen even if other people were and that pressure should be brought to bear in the general interest on the Rulers who were wavering. Partly as a result of these approaches further consideration was given to the method of approach, and in the latter half of the year another meeting of Rulers was arranged at Government House in Aden.

At this meeting I made it clear that Her Majesty's Government still considered federation to be the right course for the States to pursue, but they did not look upon the original plan, which had been put forward for consideration by the Rulers, as necessarily the only practical solution of the problem. It was hoped that the Rulers would themselves put forward their own plan or plans which would receive very careful consideration. The Rulers made a civil reply to my statement and after an abortive attempt by some of them to form a Working Committee, dispersed back to their States.

So the matter rested in 1956 when I left Aden. The alternative to Federation is a continuance of the present uneconomic fragmentation which will prove fertile soil for political speculators and may result in some not necessarily desirable movement which will be impossible to control.

THE FUTURE

I have been asked on many occasions in the past few months how the Protectorate will develop politically and what form our relations with the Rulers will have in the future. It is impossible for me to give a straightforward answer to either of these questions because there are too many imponderables. It has been my unhappy experience that the more I know about a place and the greater my experience of the people, the less

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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The Legislative Council was enlarged slightly at the same time so that it consisted of nine *ex-officio* and nominated Official members, four Unofficial members elected by the electoral divisions of the Colony, one Unofficial member elected from among and by the members of the Municipal Committee, thus encouraging young men to work in that sphere and at the same time ensuring a proper representation of municipal interest, and four nominated Unofficial members. Of the nominated Unofficial members one was required by the Constitution to represent business interests and the others represented minority communities, or were persons whose wise counsel was of great value to the Chamber. Nine on each side of the Chamber, with the Governor presiding, there was thus a slender, very slender Government majority.

An analysis of the members showed that the Council consisted of eleven Europeans, two of them on the unofficial side, five Arabs, one Somali and one Indian. The fact that there were so many Europeans had no particular significance because there was no reason why a number of the Departmental Heads on the official side should not, in time, be local men. On the unofficial side the European who represented trading interests was the President of the Chamber of Commerce, an appointment which may well be filled at a not too distant date by a non-European, though it will always have to be borne in mind that the considerable trading interests of the European business houses must have adequate representation.

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At the same time as I informed the Legislative Council that changes in their constitution were contemplated, I was able to tell them that that very day the Executive Council had been strengthened by the addition of an Arab Unofficial member. Since then a further addition to the Executive Council has taken place and there were by the end of 1956 two Arab unofficial members as well as the one European Unofficial member. There had always been a European Unofficial member on the Council since the inception of the Executive Council in 1937.

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In the spring of 1956 there was a clamour in the Press for further constitutional advance, uninstructed clamour largely

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648 induced by political developments in other Colonies and to some extent the disagreeable radio broadcasts from Egypt. A firm line was clearly necessary and it was time that a statement of policy should be made so that everyone knew precisely where he stood. This was done by Lord Lloyd, the then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He came out to Aden and British Somaliland on an official tour and, at my invitation, he addressed the Legislative Council, and in effect said that there was not going to be any change during the life of the present Council, that is, before the end of 1958, and that it would not be reasonable or sensible, or in the interests of the inhabitants of the Colony, for them to aspire in the foreseeable future to anything beyond a considerable degree of self-government. The clamour died down gradually and the majority of the Colony papers began to have a much more sensible approach to the political future of the Colony.

668 Lord Lloyd's visit was not without incident and was made the occasion for a political demonstration. On the afternoon of his arrival a number of members of the political extremist Party, the National United Front, whose political platform was full self-government tomorrow or even sooner, had collected at the Airport with the intention of demonstrating. They were persons of no consequence and in a number of cases of dubious character. Some of them carried walking sticks and others had banners on which were written nationalistic slogans. They had arrived just before I did, and the Commissioner of Police asked me whether he should disperse them. There was no doubt about his ability to do so if I had considered it desirable, but my answer was that they could remain provided they did not transgress the law in any way. The 'plane bringing Lord Lloyd had just touched down, and after this short conversation with the Commissioner, I walked across the tarmac to meet him and asked him whether he would prefer to avoid the unofficial reception committee by driving out through the Royal Air Force entrance to the landing ground some half mile or so down the runway. He asked me what I thought. I said I did not see why we should be put off by these ragamuffins. He was in complete agreement. We departed through a crowd

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1
Yemen ML1

locally in increasing the prestige of the Imam. As a threat to anyone they are not worthy of consideration and should prove an easy target for aircraft should the need to obliterate them ever arise. Perim is no longer of any military importance and has not been garrisoned since 1928 and has had no commercial importance since Lambert Brothers or the Perim Coal Company closed down some twenty years ago. The only claim to be of use that the island can make is that it is the site of two essential lighthouses, and even in this respect it is a nuisance as the presence of the lighthouses necessitates the maintenance on the island of a detachment of Armed Police. As there is no water on the island a condenser has to be manned and maintained to provide the lighthouse crews and the police with drinking water. Altogether Perim has become rather more of a liability than an asset.

I think it most unlikely that there ever has been any intention of the Yemen or Egypt to construct a submarine base at the southern end of the Red Sea. It would be most uncomfortable in the summer, within easy range of aircraft from Aden and altogether rather pointless. Submarines will probably visit Hodeidah if they have Commanders sufficiently skilful and intrepid to navigate through the reefs which surround that place, and they may call at Mocha farther south, but I see no menace to anyone in this and can only hope that Russian and Chinese gold and dollars will be wasted on so fruitless an enterprise.

The highlights of this otherwise rather gloomy picture are the loyalty of the Protectorate Forces and the renewed interest of the Protectorate States in the Federation plan. The Aden Protectorate Levies and the Government Guards consist, as we know, entirely of Arabs from the Protectorate States with British and Arab officers; in the Government Guards of equal status in the higher ranks. Their bravery and devotion to duty under continuous and almost intolerable strain has been outstanding, and they have won the admiration and respect of everyone by their work for their country in whose defence they have always been ready to lay down their lives.

Under the continued spur of Yemen aggression and subversion the States of the Protectorate seem at last to have realised

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178 the weakness of their position so long as they remain isolated the one from the other by jealousy and personal pride with the result that the States of Beihan, the Audhali, Dhala, the Fadli and the central State of Dathina have all intimated their desire to federate together, and discussions are in progress with the Colonial Office and the Governor on the practical implementation of their decision. The Aulaki Sheikh, also, from whose territory so many of the Levies and Guards are recruited, has signified his readiness to join a federation, and I am sure that other States will follow the lead which has been given them and hope that before this year is ended the Protectorate will have taken a major step forward.

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643 Internally the Protectorate has not been free from disturbance. In Lower Yafa Sultan Muhammed allowed himself to be swayed by Egyptian propaganda and deserted his charge, the lowland reaches of his State embracing the northern half of the rich cotton yielding Abiyan plain. He fled to the Yafa highlands and on into Yemen, taking with him the Lower Yafa Tribal Guards, which were of no moment, and the contents of his father's, the Sultan's Treasury amounting to £10,000 which did matter. The Assistant Adviser on the spot, who was himself an Arab, acted promptly and vigorously and the void left by the Tribal Guards was filled rapidly by Government Guards from Aden. There were no disturbances of any moment and the situation was never out of control. Sultan Mohd's defection was deplorable but understandable for he was ever a wayward and foolish fellow and his country is no worse for his absence.

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669 Over to the West in the Sultanate of Lahej a very unhappy position has arisen. It is nothing to do with the State's frontier with the Yemen which was at one time a continuous worry but recently has been unusually peaceful. The Sultan who was the first to approve federation in principle and the most difficult to deal with in the discussions which followed the 1954 meeting at Government House, in April of this year, left his State, presumably in protest at the arrest by the Governor's order of his Minister for Education, Abdullah bin Ali, one of the Jifri Saiyid. The order for arrest, which was on a charge of

579 political party, as such, in the Colony had any hand in these outrages which, if continued, will have disastrous consequences for every single individual in Aden.

646 668 In the legislative field there have been two important developments since I left Aden. The first of these has been in the Municipal Committee where, at the recent elections, the electorate returned fourteen elected Members to the Committee. Of these seven are so-called Nationalists, which would seem to be a clear indication that Nationalism is spreading and gaining ground rapidly. This may be correct, but on the other hand I have found in Aden and elsewhere in the world that extremists do not always remain extreme once they have obtained their object which in this case was membership of the Municipal Committee. There are signs that already something of the sort is happening, and provided that the situation is handled firmly but with understanding, there would not seem to be cause for alarm. The moderates are, by and large, rational people and on them must rest the responsibility for restraining their less experienced associates. Let them take their own line in the future as they have in the past and not allow themselves to be influenced unduly by public opinion.

• 642 646 178 The second and more important development is the fulfilment of the undertaking given by Lord Lloyd in 1956. The proposals for a major change in the Constitution were published on November 11th, 1957, as a Gazette Extraordinary. The proposals provide for a fundamental change in the structures of both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The precise date of implementation has not yet been published, but it would be safe to assume that provided there is no startling and unexpected reaction to the proposals, they will come into effect at the end of this year when the life of the present Legislative Council is due to expire. The reconstruction of the Legislative Council will result in the Unofficial elected Members of the Council having a majority for the first time. There are to be twelve such elected members representing single member constituencies in the Colony, five *ex-officio* members who will be the Air Officer Commanding, the Chief Secretary,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary and one other Government official and six members to be nominated by the Governor in his absolute discretion. The Governor will no longer preside over the Council, his place being taken, as is only appropriate, by a Speaker.

The qualifications for electors and for candidates for election are to remain unchanged. This means that there will be no extension of the franchise and no relaxation of the rule which requires a candidate to be Aden born, or if not Aden born, to be a British subject or a British Protected person who has resided in the Colony for seven out of the last ten years. A very wise decision. Nothing could have been more foolhardy than to have extended the franchise at the present time beyond its already wide limits. To allow foreign subjects to be elected as Members of a Legislative Council would be unconstitutional in any country.

With the grant of an unofficial elected majority it is proposed to appoint five Unofficial Members of whom three must be elected Members to take charge of the Departments of Education, Public Works, Communications, Labour and Social Welfare and the Health Department. They will be known as Members-in-Charge and will be responsible for their respective Departments. Early in 1956 I introduced the practice of associating individual Unofficial Members with Departments of Government with the object of preparing them for just this sort of development. The result is that the present Unofficial Members have gained valuable experience and one can only hope that the electorate, always a trifle capricious even in England, will have the good sense to return at least some of them to the Council at the next election where their experience will be of benefit to the Colony.

The new Constitution will, of course, provide that the Governor shall exercise reserve executive and legislative powers. This is a normal procedure and essential, particularly in a politically juvenile Colony such as is Aden which has had a Legislative Council for only eleven years.

The contemplated change in the composition of the Executive Council is as sweeping as that in the Legislative Council.

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Aden

645 The future Executive Council will consist of the five *ex-officio* Members of the Legislative Council and the five Members-in-Charge. The Governor will, of course, preside as he does at present.

ooo The proposals are sound and, indeed, generous. It remains to be seen whether the electorate are wise enough to return rational and honest persons to represent them on the Legislative Council. If they don't they will have cut their own throats, a nasty messy business at any time, and it is no satisfaction to the victims to know that the wounds were self inflicted.

3:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

Gulf, which enables oil to be supplied at favourable rates, and the consequent inducement to ships to call for bunkers has also led to an increase of transit trade to the East African and Red Sea ports. 504

PERIM

The first trace of the occupation of Perim Island goes back as far as 1738 when the French landed there after the bombardment of Mocha. It was not until 5th May, 1799, that the British took formal possession, but it is recorded that, owing to difficulties in maintaining a supply of water, they evacuated the island in September of that year. 175

Perim was reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, under instructions from Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Sir William Coghlan, Political Resident and Commander, Aden, and Lieutenant Templar in the "Mahi" was deputed to effect the occupation. The island was then placed under the control of an Assistant to the Political Resident at Aden. This arrangement continued until 1929, when the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent. On the closing down of the Perim Coal Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the Island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden, usually performing the journey by air. 175 642

II.—GOVERNMENT

Prior to the 1st April, 1932, the territory now comprising the Colony was administered by a Resident under the control of the Government of Bombay. From the 1st April, 1932, Aden became a Chief Commissionership, and control was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General of India in Council, the Chief Executive Officer at Aden being styled Chief Commissioner, Resident and Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st April, 1937, Aden was constituted a Crown Colony and was removed from the control of the Government of India. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is also Commander-in-Chief, aided by an Executive Council which at present comprises five members. The Council consists of the persons holding the offices of Political Secretary and Civil Secretary and such other persons as the Governor in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through the Secretary of State may from time to time appoint. At the present time, in addition to the ex-officio members, the Legal Adviser, the Finance Officer and the Chairman of the Port Trust and Settlement have been appointed to the Council. There is no Legislative Council. 642 643 645

Military Garrison

The Military Garrison of the Colony is under the command of an Air Officer Commanding. 701

There is a Naval Office in charge of the Naval Officer-in-Charge.

3:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

647 The Trustees are appointed by the Governor for a period of two years.
504 Vacancies during this period are also filled by the Governor.

The minimum depth of water at low tide available in the Approach Channel and Inner Mooring Basin, except the four deep water berths, is 32 ft. 6 in.; there are five oil berths connected to the land installation by submarine pipe lines; two of these berths have been dredged to a minimum depth of 35 feet at L.W. There are two other berths dredged to a similar depth available for the supply of bunker coal and for general purposes.

The Port Trust maintain a pilot service consisting of one Harbour Master and six pilots.

The Aden Port Trust publish a separate administration report.

Mercantile marine matters are dealt with by the Port Officer. The present incumbent is an Officer of the Royal Indian Navy and is also Superintendent of Lighthouses.

Aden Port Trust Finance

651 The following statement shows the opening and closing balances
652 with actual receipts and expenditure for the year ending 31st March, 1939 :—

Opening balance on 1st April, 1938 ...	Rs.	7,68,687	8	11
Receipts for the year 1938–39	Rs.	18,59,376	10	9
	Rs.	26,28,064	3	8
Expenditure for the year 1938–39 ...	Rs.	20,00,472	3	9
Closing balance on the 31st March, 1939	Rs.	6,27,591	15	11

Note.—The Port Trust Accounts are maintained for the financial year and not for the calendar year. The above figures are therefore based on the working of the financial year.

Municipal Administration

642 The Municipal Administration of Aden is carried on by the
643 Executive Committee of the Aden Settlement subject to the authority of the Governor under the powers vested in him by the Aden Settlement Regulation VII of 1900 as amended by Regulation V of 1919 and 1927.

Municipal Finance

Revenue

651 No new forms of taxation were introduced in 1938. The revenue of the Aden Settlement Fund for the year 1938 has increased owing to the large import of kat and also to the increase in the number of

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1

population excluding military has risen from 500 to 100,000 (according to the latest estimate). 504 175

The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that it is a refuelling station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the oil companies' production centres in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and the African Coast. 504

Perim Island was first occupied by the French in 1738. In 1799 the British took formal possession, but evacuated the island in the same year. It was later reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, and placed under the control of an Assistant Political Resident at Aden. In 1929 the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent, but on the closing down of that Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden. 175 642

Chapter 3: Administration

Since 1937, when the territory was taken from the control of the Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the constitution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council. 643

Under the royal instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officers lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary, of Attorney General and of Financial Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by His Majesty by any instructions or warrants under his sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through one of his principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the royal instructions.

Whenever upon any special occasion the Governor desires to obtain the advice of any person within the Colony relating to affairs therein, he may summon such person, for such special occasions, as an Extra-ordinary Member of the Council.

Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order 1944, a Legislative Council was constituted for the Colony of Aden The Council was inaugurated in January, 1947, and consists of the Governor as President, 4 ex-officio members, not more than 4 official members and not more than 8 unofficial members. A list of member of the Executive and Legislative Councils is attached as an appendix at page 58. 646

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MMI Aden MMI

Parsee merchant was returned without a contest. The election in Crater passed off without incident.

The qualifications for a voter were British birth or Aden residence for over five years, and a property qualification (ownership of premises valued at Rs. 2,000 or payment of a rent of Rs. 25 a month). This was found to give a voters' roll of 1,660, and as this was considered too small an electorate for an estimated population of 70,000 in Fortress area, the qualifications were approximately halved by an amendment to the law in 1950, and now give an electorate of about 5,000. The present qualifications for a *voter* is Aden birth, or British birth and two years' residence, or foreign birth and five years' residence in Aden. In addition the voter must be a male, and own property worth Rs. 1,000 or pay rent of Rs. 12 a month, or have an income of Rs. 130 a month.

A *candidate* must be of Aden or British birth, and possess the qualifications of a voter.

In Sheikh Othman Township, with a population of some 25,000, the people are not so developed politically, and a fully nominated Authority is retained, with three officials and two Arab residents of Sheikh Othman as members.

The Township Authorities hold fortnightly meetings to superintend various services of a municipal character, such as the control of markets, the maintenance of public health and sanitary services, the maintenance and improvement of roads, the provision of recreation facilities for the Aden public and the control of building operations.

The Township Authorities are responsible, on behalf of the Government, for the collection of the following taxes :

House and Property Tax

Yield in 1949 .. Rs. 2,78,093.
Yield in 1950 .. Rs. 2,90,194

This tax is assessed in the Fortress at 8 per cent per annum of the rateable value and in Sheikh Othman (virtually a rural area) at 4½ per cent. Rateable value is arrived at by first estimating the gross value, which is the annual rent at which premises might reasonably be expected to let, assuming the owner undertakes to bear the cost of rates, repairs, insurance and any other expenses necessary to maintain the premises in a state to command that rent; from the gross value 10 per cent is deducted in lieu of repairs, insurance, etc., and the residue is known as the rateable value.

Sanitation Tax

Yield in 1949 .. Rs. 1,58,830
Yield in 1950 .. Rs. 1,65,477

This tax in the Fortress is assessed at 4½ per cent per annum on the rateable value and in Sheikh Othman at 2¼ per cent and is collected to compensate for the vast conservancy services rendered by the Public Health Department. In Aden where few sewers exist, the daily removal of the sullage water and human waste from thousands of houses not connected to main drainage is a considerable task.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden MM1

504 The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that
131 it is a refuelling station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil.
439 It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade routes to the oil companies' production centres in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and the African coast.

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643 Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the consti-
645 tution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council.

Under the Royal Instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officers lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary, of Attorney General and of Financial Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by Her Majesty by any instructions or warrants under her sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from Her Majesty through one of her principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the Royal Instructions.

Whenever upon any special occasion the Governor desires to obtain the advice of any person within the Colony relating to affairs therein, he may summon such person, for such special occasions, as an extraordinary Member of the Council.

646 Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order, 1944, a Legislative Council was constituted for the Colony of Aden. The Council was inaugurated in January, 1947, and consists of the Governor as President, four *ex officio* members, not more than four official members and not more than eight unofficial members.

161 Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by
226 an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The
625 population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are
659 fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Aden MMI

edge of the Rub al-Khali desert. The depth of the northern frontier from the southern coast varies from 50 miles in the west to 200 miles in the east.

ADEN COLONY

The area of the Crown Colony is small, only about 80 square miles, exclusive of its two dependencies: Perim Island (5 square miles) and the Kuria Muria Islands (30 square miles). The population of the Crown Colony was estimated at the end of 1950 at 100,000, an increase of almost 20,000 over the figure at the 1946 census. The increase was mainly due to the influx of Arabs from the Yemen at an average rate of 100–150 per week, for the most part to take casual unskilled employment at higher living standards and in greater security than in their own country. Some 2,000 traders and clerks, mainly from India, had also immigrated since the census, and in May 1950 new Immigration Rules were introduced to secure preference in employment and housing for the local population, of whatever race. The population of the Colony is approximately classified as follows: Arabs 79,500; Muslims (India and Pakistan) 8,500; Somalis 6,500; Hindus 3,500; Jews 1,500 (about 2,000 having departed for Israel); Europeans 500; Indian Christians and others 500.

From the date of its capture by the British in 1839 until 1923 Aden was administered under the Government of Bombay. For the next five years control was vested in the Governor-General of India in Council. Finally, on 1 April 1937 it was constituted a Crown Colony administered by a Governor who is responsible to the British Colonial Office and is assisted by an Executive Council. Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order of 1944, a Legislative Council was inaugurated in January 1947. It consists of the Governor as President; the Air Officer Commanding the British Forces in Aden, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Financial Secretary, as *ex-officio* members; four official members; and eight unofficial members, of whom at the end of 1950 four were British and four residents of Aden. Aden Colony also includes Perim Island (pop. 381) which is administered by the Commissioner of Police, Aden.

For local government purposes the Colony is divided into the Fortress Township, with a population estimated at 70,000, and the Shaikh Othman Township four miles away,[1] with a population of some 25,000. The members of both authorities were all nominated by the Aden Government until 1949, when provi-

[1] Shaikh Othman was sold to Britain by the Sultan of Lahej in 1882.

S 648 British interest in the Arabian Peninsula are controlled by three different central agencies in London: (1) Aden and the Aden Protectorate are administered by the Colonial Office; (2) The British officials in the Persian Gulf States belong to the Indian Political Service and as such are subordinate to the Government of India and the India Office; (3) the relations with the independant Arabian states, namely Saudi Arabia and Yemen, are regulated by the Foreign Office.

On the basis of their relationship with Great Britain the states and territories in the Arabian Peninsula may be divided into four general categories: (a) British colonial territory: Aden Colony; (b) British protectorate: Aden Protectorate; (c) semi-independent states under British protection: the Persian Gulf States; (d) independent states having treaties of friendship with Great Britain: Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

C. Aden

A 648 642 1. The Colony. As mentioned above, the Colony of Aden was administered as part of India until 1 April 1937. It was part of the Bombay Presidency until 1932, when it became a separate province. The separation of Aden from India is based upon article 288 of the Government of India Act of 1935. This article envisaged the administrative reorganization of Aden as a Crown Colony subordinated to the Colonial Office in London. Consequently, a Royal Order in Council was issued on 28 September 1936 which introduced what may be termed a new constitution of Aden. (1) It follows the

1. Statutory Rules and Orders (to be quoted in the following as S. R. & O), 1936, pp. 1-7. Under British law the King acting with the advice of the Privy Council has the absolute right to create a constitution for a conquered or ceded colonial possession; of, A. B. Keith, The Government of the British Empire, New York, 1936. pp. 15-16.

usual lines of the fundamental laws for British Crown Colonies. (2)

2. A Crown Colony in the convenient sense is one whose administration is subject to the control of the Crown as

represented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; cf. Keith, op. cit., p. 463 n. 1. 648 642

Under the system of legislative decentralization which prevails in the British colonial Empire, only the basic legislation for a colony is enacted by the central authorities in London. The day-to-day legislative needs are cared for by local legislation. The Crown, however, reserves for itself the right to legislate in all matters if it so desires. A conflict between imperial legislation and local legislation cannot arise because all local laws may be disallowed by the Crown. In many colonies there exists a legislative council with general legislative powers. The Governor has the power in these cases to veto any legislation passed by the council. In other possessions no legislative council has been established and both legislative and executive powers are vested in the Governor. Aden belongs in this latter category. In the exercise of his functions the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and the Protectorate of Aden (3) is assisted by an Executive Council which consists

> 3. All colonial governors have the title of Commander-in-Chief, which does not imply, however, any actual military command.

of high government officials and is purely advisory. (4) It has to be

> 4. Executive Councils have been established in all British colonies.

consulted by the Governor except in unimportant and urgent matters and in cases where consultation would cause material prejudice to the public interest. The Governor may act against the advice of the Executive Council, but has to justify such action to the Colonial Office. The administrative direction of the affairs of the Colony is in the hands of the Civil Secretary who is responsible to the Governor.

The city of Aden together with the peninsula of 000

A The city of Aden together with the peninsula of Little Aden, the territory of Sheikh Othman, and the Island of 101 Perim thus form a Crown Colony under direct British rule. (5)

A 6421 648 5. The British distinguish between two basic types of colonial administration: direct rule and indirect rule. The former means that the area is administered directly by British colonial officials without any native governmental machinery as is the case in Aden Colony. In the latter case use is made of existing native institutions and many of the actual administrative functions are in the hands of native governments under the control of British colonial officials.

A [101] The islands of Kuria Muria, and Kamaran are also British possessions administered under the control of the Governor of Aden.

This means that no native government whatsoever functions in the area. As a colony, Aden is part of the British national territory and its inhabitants are British subjects. In spite of the transfer of administrative control over Aden to the Colonial Office, the ties with India have not been completely broken. A large amount of British A Indian legislation, which had been made applicable to Aden, con- 692 tinues in force. The judicial organization, moreover, is still closely 671 linked with India since appeals from the Aden Supreme Court lie in the High Court in Bombay. In dealing with any legal case centered in Aden, British Indian substantive and procedural laws have, therefore, to be taken into account.

H 642 648 2. The Aden Protectorate. The present organization of the Protectorate is based upon the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of 18 March 1937. (6) Under it the Governor of the Colony is at the

6. S. R. & O. 1937, pp. 750-57; amended 10 July 1940, S. R. & O. 1940, pp. 397-98.

same time Governor of the Protectorate. (7) The functions exercised

H 600 7. A protectorate, even one very closely resembling a colony, is not part of the national territory of the protecting state but